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# As Forces Grow, Cuban Refugees Find New Hope

## Air Attack on Homeland Is Symbolic; A Look At Some Prime Targets

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MIAMI.

Puerto Cabezas is a remote hamlet in Nicaragua. It is hot, often wet, and far from even the most primitive diversions. But no matter. The dozens of earnest young Cubans at Puerto Cabezas want nothing to divert them from their work of learning to kill and destroy, in order to free their homeland from Red Castro.

Apparently nothing has. Early Thursday, two small planes flown by the Revolutionary Recovery Movement took off from a base "somewhere in Central America." One of them strafed and bombed a sugar mill at Moron, 280 miles east of Havana. The other made a pass at the old Esso refinery at Havana before a coughing engine forced it to turn back to the unidentified base—obviously Puerto Cabezas.

The damage was minor. But fresh hope rippled through Miami's restless and weary exile colony, and even the Communist kidnapping of 19 fleeing Cuban refugees on a British-owned key did not dampen the reviving spirits in Miami.

Exile leaders said they were recruiting Cubans for another major attempt to recapture their home island 90 miles off the Florida coast. Recruiters were reported to be busy in Miami, New York City, Chicago, and in New Jersey. One new recruit said his family was told they would receive \$175 a month during his absence.

Exile sources claim that trained commandos have been slipping into Cuba since early June. Landing in small parties, these commandos quickly establish liaison with "phantom cells" of leaderless resistance to co-ordinate sabotage.

Explained a Miami exile: "If one man smashes a light bulb in a government building, that is of no consequence. But if 10,000 men smash two light bulbs each, that makes a lot of trouble for Fidel."

### More than Sympathetic

Nicaragua's fiercely anti-communist president, Rene Schick, has been more than sympathetic, and so have leaders in several other Central American nations. Still, exile leaders warn against expecting a new invasion.

Said Manuel Artime, leader of the Revolutionary Recovery Movement: "Our immediate goal is to organize the underground. The exiles must first organize in sufficient strength."

But just when Castro might have figured the underground was his only worry, the exiles unleashed themselves and hit him again from the sky. If the damage the tincan bombers wrought was minor, it was still enough to ease the pressure on the underground.

Once the underground is solidly organized and capable of inflicting real damage, these exiles believe, the chances of a popular uprising will be enhanced. Some exile leaders think a successful underground movement might inspire Castro's soldiers to defect. Said one exile: "A lot of the soldiers are getting pretty unhappy with seeing the Russians taking over more and more."

### Russian Arms Shell Town

There is no shortage of targets for the Cuban underground. One of them is Cuba's Central Highway, a concrete ribbon that twists and turns the length of the island from Pinar del Rio eastward to Santiago de Cuba. This road links Havana to its backwoods provinces. Every time this highway is chopped, the link is broken, and until the break is sealed entire provinces can be isolated. Often guerrilla strength can be quickly concentrated and brief but effective uprisings follow.

This happened not long ago at Jaguey Grande, and exile sources claim the uprising was not put down until Castro moved in heavy Russian equipment and shelled the town. Most of Jaguey Grande's 10,000 residents were arrested.

This new exile action is a needed tonic for drooping Latin spirits in Miami. Even the shortage of boasts from exile leaders heartened the Miami refugees. "Everything is going well," said Carlos Prio Socarras, a former president of Cuba on his return to Miami from Nicaragua. "In the interest of discretion I can say no more."

However guarded, the exiles took this for rank optimism, and it was grist for the endless speculation that abounds in Miami. Almost every greeting here begins with a question: "Have you heard anything?" Nearly everyone has. The *bolas*, the Spanish slang for rumors, multiply quickly in the Florida sun. Flagler Street abounded in *bolas* last week. Some of them:

✓ Castro will soon make an elaborate call for the first elections since he came to power, arrange a gaudy campaign, and manage to win a glowing victory. This will assure a renewal of diplomatic relations with the United States.

✓ Deferring to the wishes of the United States, Russia will dispose of Castro, allow "free" elections in which a fresh but dependable Marxist will rise to power, further entrenching communism on the island but giving it a new face of reform. Diplomatic forgiveness would thus be assured.

✓ James B. Donovan, the New York lawyer who negotiated the trade of the Bay of Pigs prisoners for \$53,000,000 worth of American food and medicines, will become the U.S. spokesman in similar dealings with the Russians. Donovan's installation as the American ambassador in Havana.

The theme in these rumors is dread of the exile threat that the United States will fire of the Cuban nettle and make a peace with the Soviets that would stifle their efforts to recapture the island. If that happens, they believe their Caribbean republic would be lost to them for good. "As it is now," a Cuban businessman said in Havana last week, "it would take 25 years, at least, to rebuild Cuba. And that would be with a great deal of U.S. help."

### Shudder Among the Exiles

Their fears were summed up recently by Sen. Kenneth Keating, the New York Republican who is a frequent critic of President Kennedy's Cuba policy and a special hero in Miami. Strongly attacking any attempt to renew diplomatic relations with Cuba, Senator Keating said such a renewal would proclaim "the impotence of our policy." The exiles shuddered when Sen. J. William Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat who heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told a national television audience that the United States must "learn to live with Cuba." The exiles fear this implies a new relationship.

The United States did not inspire new faith with the kidnapping of the 19 refugees. Photographs of U.S. planes circling overhead during the kidnapping were splashed across Miami newspapers, and the exile reaction was predictably bitter. Secretary of State Dean Rusk's explanation that "it is not for us to go into British territory in a situation like that" did little to soothe their worries.

If all this were not enough to turn the sunniest Latin disposition in Miami a bit cloudy, there were other immediate worries: The rapid relocation of exiles from Miami, and the endless and wasteful proliferation of exile activist organizations in Florida and Central America.

More than 2,000 exiles were settled in new homes outside south Florida last month, and the pace seems sure to quicken. Most of them have been resettled in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Texas. And if transportation to the U.S. can be obtained for more than 300,000 Cubans who now hold U.S. visa waivers—permission to enter the United States—the resettlement program would be dramatically accelerated.

Exiles in Miami resist resettlement for a number of reasons: The climate, the proximity to the homeland, and the wish to stay with family and friends. Others resist for more sophisticated political reasons. "Once the exile colony is gone from Miami and scattered across the United States," an exile leader predicted, "the Cuban issue is dead. That's what happened with the Hungarian refugees. As long as there are a lot of refugees here, there will be the demand for a chance to go home."

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